

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10  
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HA-05 ACDA-12 VO-05 CA-01 IO-13 DOE-15 SOE-02  
OES-07 NEA-10 AF-10 OMB-01 TRSE-00 /147 W  
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R 061219Z APR 78  
FM AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8903

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 BUCHAREST 2292

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: CSCE, SHUM, PARM, XF, XA, XH, RO, US, OVIP (CEAUSESCU,  
NICOLAE)  
SUBJECT: SUGGESTED BRIEFING PAPERS FOR CEAUSESCU VISIT:  
MULTILATERAL POLITICAL ISSUES

1. FOLLOWING ARE POST SUGGESTIONS FOR BRIEFING PAPERS TO BE  
USED IN DEPARTMENT DISCUSSIONS WITH ROMANIANS DURING APRIL 12-  
13 CEAUSESCU VISIT, FOR WHAT THEY ARE WORTH.

2. CSCE

BACKGROUND: CSCE PROVIDES THE IDEAL  
FORUM FOR THE GOR, AS  
DELIBERATIONS ARE BASED ON EQUALITY OF ALL STATES AND  
PRINCIPLE OF CONSENSUS. GOR VIEWS CSCE AS PRINCIPAL VEHICLE  
FOR FURTHERANCE OF DETENTE IN EUROPE AND BEST INSURANCE THAT  
ROMANIAN INTERESTS WILL NOT BE SACRIFICED IN PRIVATE DEAL  
BETWEEN SUPERPOWERS. GOR HAS BEEN ACTIVE AND INDEPENDENT  
PERFORMER, WHOSE POSITIONS COINCIDE MOST FREQUENTLY WITH  
THOSE OF YUGOSLAVIA AND OTHER NNAS AND MUCH MORE RARELY  
WITH THOSE OF ITS FORMAL ALLIES, DESPITE SIMILAR HESITATIONS  
ON HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES. GOR WAS DISAPPOINTED BY BELGRADE  
FAILURE TO DEVELOP MORE SUBSTANTIVE DOCUMENT; TO PROVIDE  
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FOR WORKING GROUPS OF EXPERTS, ESPECIALLY ON CBMS; TO  
ESTABLISH MORE FIRMLY FIXED PERIODICITY OF REVIEW CON-  
FERENCES; AND GENERALLY TO FIRM UP POLITICAL UNDERPINNING  
FOR DETENTE PROCESS.

ROMANIAN POSITION: GOR POSITIONS COINCIDE MOST CLOSELY  
WITH THOSE OF U.S. ON BASKET I QUESTIONS AND ARE MOST

DIVERGENT ON BASKET III QUESTIONS, WHICH GOR TRIES HARD TO IGNORE. GOR IS DEEPLY COMMITTED TO REDUCTION OF MILITARY FORCES IN EUROPE AND REGARDS MILITARY SAFEGUARDS AS ASPECT OF CSCE PROCESS SECOND IN IMPORTANCE ONLY TO PRESERVING VIABILITY OF PROCEU ITSELF. AFTER BELGRADE, IT HAS COMMITTED ITSELF PUBLICLY AND REPEATEDLY TO CONTINUING EFFORTS FOR IMPLEMENTATION AND SUCCESSFUL MADRID MEETING IN 1980.

U.S. POSITION: U.S. MAINTAINS INTEGRITY OF CSCE DEPENDS ON ALL ASPECTS OF FINAL ACT RECEIVING EQUAL EMPHASIS, AND AS LONG AS OTHERS REFUSE TO ACKNOWLEDGE THIS, HERE CAN BE LITTLE SUBSTANTIVE PROGRESS ON ANY SINGLE ASPECT. HOWEVER, WE TOO ARE COMMITTED TO CONTINUATION OF THE CSCE PROCESS AND TO SERIOUS AND PERSISTENT EFFORT TO PUSH IMPLEMENTATION FORWARD BETWEEN NOW AND MADRID MEETING.

TALKING POINTS:

-- DESPITE DIFFERENCES WHICH EMERGE DURING THE CONFERENCE, WE CONSIDER THE BELGRADE MEETING WAS SUCCESSFUL IN THAT IT PROVIDED A FIRM BASIS FOR CONTINUATION OF THE CSCE PROCESS. THE U.S. WILL WORK CONSTRUCTIVELY WITH ALL PARTICIPANTS TO ENSURE THAT THE EFFORTS BEGUN WITH SIGNATURE OF THE FINAL ACT CONTRIBUTE POSITIVELY TO RELATIONS BETWEEN EAST AND WEST.

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-- AN IMPORTANT MEASURE OF SUCCESS IN CSCE WILL BE MORE COMPLETE IMPLEMENTATION OF ALL SECTIONS OF THE FINAL ACT, INCLUDING HUMAN RIGHTS AND HUMANITARIAN MATTERS. IT WILL BE IMPORTANT TO REGISTER PROGRESS IN PREPARATION FOR THE REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION IN MADRID IN 1980.

-- DURING THE NEXT TWO YEARS, WE HOPE ALSO TO EXPLORE NEW POSSIBILITIES FOR MULTILATERAL AND BILATERAL COOPERATION UNDER THE UMBRELLA OF THE FINAL ACT. THE U.S. WOULD BE INTERESTED IN ANY VIEWS ROMANIA MIGHT HAVE ON SUCH POSSIBILITIES.

### 3. HUMAN RIGHTS

BACKGROUND: U.S. POLICY EMPHASIZES THE CIVIC AND POLITICAL LIBERTIES AND, IN ROMANIAN CONTEXT, HAS FOCUSED PRIMARILY ON EMIGRATION--A RIGHT RECOGNIZED BY GOR ONLY IN CONTEXT OF FAMILY REUNIFICATION. GOR EMPHASIZES PRIMACY OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL RIGHTS AS PREREQUISITES TO MEANINGFUL CIVIC AND POLITICAL RIGHTS. AS CONSEQUENCE, LATTER HAVE BEEN CURTAILED IN INTEREST OF RAPID INDUSTRIALIZATION AS THE

FOUNDATION FOR THE FORMER. ONE PERSISTENT GOR THEME HAS BEEN NEED TO NEGOTIATE AGREED INTERNATIONAL RULES OR STANDARDS FOR HUMAN RIGHTS DISCUSSIONS. AT THE SAME TIME, GOR HAS PROVEN RELATIVELY RESPONSIVE TO QUIET BILATERAL DIPLOMACY.

ROMANIAN POSITION: GOR REFRAINS FROM DIRECT PUBLIC CRITICISM OF OTHERS, BUT, AS COUNSELOR PUNGAN HAS MADE CLEAR; GOR WILL CONSIDER DISCUSSION OF HUMAN RIGHTS A "DIALOGUE" AND RESPOND PRIVATELY TO CRITICISM OF ITS POLICIES WITH VIEW THAT U.S. IS DEFICIENT IN THIS AREA WHEN IT COMES TO WHAT GOR CONSIDERS MOST BASIC ASPECTS: RIGHTS TO DECENT LIVELIHOOD AND TO SOCIAL BENEFITS SUCH AS EDUCATION AND HEALTH CARE. CEAUSESCU MAY CONTRAST OUR INSISTENCE ON RIGHT OF ITS CONFIDENTIAL

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CITIZENS TO EMIGRATE WITH OUR UNWILLINGNESS TO WELCOME ALL AS IMMIGRANTS.

U.S. POSITION: U.S. SUPPORT OF HUMAN RIGHTS EVERYWHERE IS BROAD AND DEEP, AND WE BELIEVE HISTORY IS ON OUR SIDE. OUR WON EXPERIENCE CONVINCES US THAT ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL RIGHTS AND INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES ARE NOT MUTUALLY EXCLUSIVE BUT SHOULD DEVELOP TOGETHER IF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE ARE TO REST ON FIRM FOUNDATION. WE APPRECIATE FRUITFUL BILATERAL DIALOGUE WE HAVE HAD ON THIS ISSUE, AND LOOK FORWARD TO FURTHER PROGRESS CONCERNING GOR PRACTICES, ESPECIALLY WITH RESPECT TO EMIGRATION, WHICH HANDICAP

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ACTION EUR-12

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FM AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8904

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 3 BUCHAREST 2292

EXPANSION OF U.S.-ROMANIAN RELATIONS IN ECONOMIC AND OTHER FIELDS.

TALKING POINT: IT IS OUR LONG-TERM COMMITMENT BOTH TO HUMAN RIGHTS AND TO ROMANIA'S INDEPENDENCE AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT THAT PROMPTS US TO EXPRESS PRIVATELY OUR HOPE THAT GOR CAN DEVELOP A MORE MODERN SOCIETY AS IT DEVELOPS A MORE PSOSPEROUS SOCIETY, SO THAT U.S. CAN MORE EASILY PLAY A CONSTRUCTIVE, SUPPORTIVE ROLE IN THAT DEVELOPMENT. WE WOULD BE INTERESTED IN GOR VIEW OF PROPER ROLE OF DEVELOPMENT AIMS AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN OUR BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP.

4. DISARMAMENT:

BACKGROUND: DISARMAMENT RANKS ALONGSIDE ESTABLISHMENT OF A NEW ECONOMIC ORDER AS KEY GOAL OF GOR FOREIGN POLICY, FOR BOTH ARE VIEWED AS BROADLY SUPPORTIVE OF ROMANIA'S INDEPENDENCE AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT; DISARMAMENT, IN ADDITION, IS DEEMED NECESSARY TO AVOID RISKS OF SUPERPOWER CONFRONTATION, EITHER DIRECTLY OR BY PROXY. GOR HAS BECOME INCREASINGLY CRITICAL OF LACK OF PROGRESS IN SALT AND MBFR NEGOTIATIONS-WHICH IT CONSIDERS A DIVERSION FROM REAL DISARMAMENT, MOREOVER DOMINATED BY THE SUPERPOWERS. OVER-RIDING DESIRE TO MINIMIZE SOVIET POTENTIAL FOR INTERVENTION IN ROMANIA SOMETIMES PROMPTS GOR TO TAKE POSITIONS

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OR INITIATIVES THAT FAIL TO PAY DUE REGARD TO MAINTENANCE OF MILITARY BALANCE IN CENTRAL EUROPE. GOR REMAINS SOLE WARSAW PACT MEMBER NOT YET TO CAMPAIGN SERIOUSLY AGAINST NEUTRON BOMB.

ROMANIAN POSITION: GOR DESIRES TO BROADEN AND "DEMOCRATIZE" DISCUSSION OF DISARMAMENT AND SEES BROADER FORUM PROVIDED BY UNSSOD AS OPPORTUNITY TO PUT PRESSURE ON U.S. AND USSR FOR PROGRESS IN BOTH SALT AND MBFR. GOR ALSO AIMS TO ENSURE THAT LESSER POWERS ARE NOT PRESENTED WITH FIATS THAT ALLEGEDLY BENEFIT ONLY GREAT POWERS WHILE PERPETUATING BLOC RIGIDITIES THAT INHIBIT THEIR INDEPENDENCE.

U.S. POSITION: ANY AGREEMENTS IN NUCOEAR ARMS OR CONVENTIONAL FORCES MUST BE MUTUALLY ADVANTAGEOUS AND ENFORCIBLE THROUGH VERIFICATION TO PRESERVE MILITARY BALANCE THAT IS THE BEST GUARANTEE OF PEACE AND STABILITY, ESPECIALLY IN EUROPE. U.S. TAKES ITS COMMITMENTS TO AROS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT SERIOUSLY AND WILL NOT SUBSCRIBE TO DECLARATIONS WITHOUT SUBSTANCE THAT CREATE FALSE HOPES WITHOUT PROVIDING THE FRAMEWORK FOR SUBSTANTIVE PROGRESS IN DISAMAMEMTN. IT WILL ALSO NOT ENTER INTO AGREEMENTS WHICH DAMAGE THE SECURITY OF ITS ALLIES OR OTHER THIRD POWERS.

TALKING POINT: U.S. SHARES GOR'S SINCERE COMMITMENT TO DISARMAMENT AND WE WILL CONTINUE OUR TRADITIONAL BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS AIMED AT FINDING WAYS WE CAN WORK TOGETHER TO ACHIEVE MEANINGFUL AND ENFORCIBLE AGREEMENTS THAT LEAVE NO NATION OR GROUP OF NATIONS VULNERABLE TO ATTACK OR THE THREAT OF ATTACK.

5. MIDDLE EAST

BACKGROUND: GOR SEES THE MIDDLE EAST AS MOST DANGEROUS OF WORLD HOTSPOTS WHERE POTENTIAL SUPERPOWER CONFRONTATION COULD THREATEN ROMANIAN SECURITY. THE ONLY COJNTRY WHICH KEPT RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL AFTER 1967, IT HAS CONSISTENTLY CONFIDENTIAL

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PROMOTED DIRECT ISRAEL-ARAB DIALOGUE. INSTRUMENTAL IN BRINGING ABOUT THE SADAT VISIT TO ISREAL, IT IS NOW TRYING TO KEEP THE MEMENTUM IT CREATED AFLOAT, AND HAS RECEIVED BOTH SADAT AND DAYAN IN RECENT MONTHS. WE ARE IN CONSTANT HIGH-LEVEL CONTACT ON THE MIDDLE EAST WITH GOR. LATEST ROMANIAN IDEA APPEARS TO BE ALL-PARTIES MEETING, PSSIBLY UNDER UN AUSPICES AND POSSIBLY LINKED TO GENEVA, AS ENCOURAGING FRAMEWORK FOR CONTINUATION OF ISRAELI-EGYPTIAN TALKS.

ROMANIAN POSITION: IT IS NECESSARY TO MAINTAIN THE MOMENTUN CREATED BY SADAT'S VISIT TO ISRAEL, AND U.S., LIKE ROMANIA, SHOULD ENCOURAGE ISRAEL TO SHOW FLEXIBILITY ON ISSUE OF PALESTINIAN SELF-DETERMINATION, AS WELL AS TO WITHDRAW PROMPTLY FROM SOUTH LEBANON. ONE USEFUL STEP MIGHT BE AN ALL-PARTIES MEETING SOON, TO PROVIDE A POLITICAL FRAMEWORK FOR CONTINUED ISRAELI-EGYPTIAN DIALOGUE AND BRING SYRIA CLOSER TO THE JORDANIAN POSITION.

U.S. POSITION AND TALKING POINTS: DEPARTMENT

6. SOUTHERN AFRICA

BACKGROUND: ROMANIA HAS TRADITIONALLY SIDES WITH AFRICAN LIBERATION MOVEMENTS. THERE IS PERMANENT ZANU REPRESENTATIVE HERE, THE GOR HAVING AGREED TO THE OPENING OF BOTH A ZANU AND A ZAPU OFFICE IN BUCHAREST. ALTHOUGH ROMANIA IS RUMORED TO BE INVOLVED IN UNDER-THE TALKE-TRADE WITH RHODESIA AND SOUTH AFRICA (E.G. IMPORTING ASBESTOS FROM SOUTH AFRICA) AND HAS SOME MEDICAL EXCHANGES WITH SOUTH AFRICA, THESE CONTACTS SEEM MINIMAL.

ROMANIAN POSITION: SUPPORTS ZIMBABWE PATIOTIC FRONT AND INTERNATIONALL AGREED STEPS LEADING TOWARD PEACEFUL TRANSITION TO BACK MAJORITY RULE IN ZIMBABWE, NAMIBIA AND SOUTH AFRICA. THERE HAS BEEN SOME SUGGESTION OF GOR INTEREST IN PARTICIPATING IN A UN-SPONSORED NAMIBIA PEACE-KEEPING OPERATION.

U.S. POSITION: IN BOTH RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA, USG SUPPORTS RAPID BUT PEACEFUL TRANSITIONIAO MAJORITY RULE AND IN-

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DEPENDENCE WITH PARTICIPATION F ALL NATIONALIST ELEMENTS  
IN THE PROCESS, AND ANY CONSTRUCTIVE STEPS TOWARD THESE  
ENDS. WE REGARD "INTERNAL SOLUTION" IN RHODESIA AS SUCH  
A STEP, ALTHOUGH NOT A FINAL SOLUTION. IN SOUTH AFRICA  
U.S. SEEKS TO PROMOTE TIMELY EVOLUTION TOWARD FULL RACIAL  
EQUALITY BY ALL APPROPRIATE MEANS SHORT OF VIOLENCE.  
TALKING POINTS: ONGOING MECHANISMS, I.E. BRITISH

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R 061219Z APR 78

FM AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 3 BUCHAREST 2292

AMERICAN PLAN AND DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS IN RODESIA AS  
WELL AS WESTERN INITIATIVE IN NAMIBIA, SHOULD BE GIVEN  
TIME TO FULFILL THEIR PROMISE. IN NAMIBIA AND SOUTH  
AFRICA, ALL APPROPRIATE PRESSURE SHORT OF VIOLENCE SHOULD  
BE APPLIED FOR A PEACEFUL EVOLUTION TOWARD FULL RACIAL  
EQUALITY.

-- DOES GOR SEE A ROLE FOR ITSELF IN A NAMIBIA PEACEKEEPING  
OPERATION UNDER UN AUSPICES?

#### 7. BALKAN COOPERATION

BACKGROUND: THE GOR WAS ONE OF PRIME MOVERS BEHIND ATHENS  
CONFERENCE ON BALKAN COOPERATION IN 1976 AND HAS NOT CEASED  
SINCE IN ITS BILATERAL CONTACTS WITH OTHER PARTICIPANTS  
TO SEEK AGREEMENT TO A SECOND CONFERENCE. WHILE IT RESPECTS

SENSITIVITIES OF U.S. AND OTHERS AND THUS IS SATISFIED TO  
LIMIT SUBJECT MATTER TO NON-POLITICAL AND NON-MILITARY TOPICS  
AT LEAST FOR THE TIME BEING, GOR ALSO SEES BALKAN COOPERATION  
AS MEANS OF MINIMIZING TRADITIONAL ANIMOSITIES AND POTENTIAL  
FOR INSTABILITY AND OUTSIDE INTERVENTION IN THE AREA.  
WITH YUGOSLAV HESITATION SUBSTANTIALLY OVERCOME IN RECENT  
YEARS, IT HAS BEEN PRINCIPALLY UNWILLINGNESS--OF BULGARIA--  
AND TO LESSER EXTENT--TURKEY--TO ENGAGE IN MULTILATERAL  
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NEGOTIATION THAT HAS STYMIED GOR'S EFFORTS.

ROMANIAN POSITION: GOR HAS PUBLICLY ANNOUNCED ITS INTENT  
TO PURSUE ITS EFFORTS TO FURTHER BALKAN COOPERATION IN  
SPITE OF INABILITY BELGRADE CONFERENCE TO OBTAIN  
ENDORSEMENT OF REGIONAL COOPERATION THAT IT HAD HOPED  
COULD BE USED TO OVERCOME BULGARIAN RELUCTANCE. ANOTHER  
BILATERAL ATTEMPT TO MOVE BULGARIA AT THE APRIL 5 CEAUSESCU-  
ZHIVKOV MEETING APPARENTLY FAILED. ROMANIANS MAY SEEK  
ASSURANCES THAT US ATTITUDE IS BENIGN AND THAT WE WILL  
DO NOTHING TO DISCOURAGE COOPERATION OF OUR ALLIES, GREECE  
AND TURKEY.

7.S. POSITION: U.S. FAVORS WHATEVER DEGREE OF BALKAN  
REGIONAL COOPERATION IS ACCEPTABLE TO THE AREA COUNTRIES  
THEMSELVES, AND ESSENTIALLY FOR THE SAME REASONS AS THE  
GOR.

TALKING POINT: U.S. BROADLY FAVORS REGIONAL COOPERATION  
FOR ESSENTIALLY THE SAME REASONS AS THE GOR AND DOES NOT  
SEE OUR ALLIANCE RELATIONSHIPS WITH GREECE OR TURKEY,  
AS IMPEDIMENTS TO KIND OF BALKAN REGIONAL INITIATIVES  
CURRENTLY UNDER DISCUSSION.  
SIMONS

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## Message Attributes

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**TAGS:** SHUM, PARM, OVIP, XF, XA, XH, RO, US, CSCE, (CEAUSESCU, NICOLAE)  
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